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THE WINNEBAGO TRIBE

PART I

CHAPTER I

HISTORY

GENERAL REMARKS

At what time the Winnebago entered Wisconsin it is impossible to say. It seems quite reasonable to suppose that they came from the east. If we are right in assuming that they are the builders of the effigy mounds, then we are justified in assigning a certain significance to the distribution of the latter. One of the interesting points of this distribution is that many are found along the shore of Lake Michigan and northward to Two Rivers, that some are found in Rock County, and that they gradually decrease in number as one proceeds north. This would lead us to assume that the Winnebago entered Wisconsin from the south, probably from the southeast. We ought, then, to find effigy mounds in Illinois and, in general, on the route of their probable journey from the east. This is not the case, and it is very difficult to account for their absence unless we assume that all traces of them have disappeared; that the Winnebago first developed their mound-building habit after they had reached Wisconsin; or that the mounds in Illinois are their work (and that of kindred tribes), and finally that the type of mound developed along different lines after they had definitely settled in Wisconsin. It is also possible that since the effigy mounds are undoubtedly closely associated with the clan organization this type of social organization was adopted by the Winnebago only after they entered Wisconsin.

There can be no doubt but that the Winnebago and the closely related tribes like the Missouri, Oto, and Iowa represented the second of the Siouan migrations westward. There were probably four of these migrations, as G. F. Will and H. J. Spinden claim, succeeding each other as follows:

1. Mandan, Hidatsa, Crow.
2. Iowa, Oto, Missouri, Winnebago.

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174 3. Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kansa, Quapaw.

4. Dakota, Assiniboin.[1]

[197] The linguistic grouping seems to bear out this theory with the exception of the Mandan, who are far more closely related to the Winnebago and their kindred than to the Hidatsa. It seems likewise strange that the Hidatsa and Crow, on the one hand, and the Dakota and Assiniboin, on the other, belonging to the first and fourth "migrations," should nevertheless speak dialects that are closely related. One might have expected that Dakota would be more like Omaha and its group.

173 The Winnebago themselves have no traditions telling of their migrations from the east. The majority of the people questioned asserted that the tribe had originated at Green Bay. This is, however, merely the origin myth of the Thunderbird clan, which apparently has displaced other origin accounts. While, in a few instances, other places were mentioned, the localities to which they referred were all in Wisconsin. There may be some significance in the origin legends of some of the clans which claim that they came from over the sea (the lake), but it is utterly impossible to determine whether we are here dealing with a myth pure and simple or with a vague memory of some historical happening.

The Winnebago have, however, some recollection of their separation from their kindred Siouan tribes. The accounts collected are short and fragmentary, but this may be due largely to the fact that no systematic attempt was made by the author to obtain detailed information on this point. The following fragmentary accounts will give some idea of the value of these recollections.

a. In the early days the Winnebago often went out hunting after they had finished hoeing their corn and other crops. During one of these travels they killed an elk and every lodge received a piece of the animal except one lodge in which a man, his wife, and six daughters with their husbands lived. Thinking that they were disliked by the rest of the tribe, these remained behind the next day when the others continued their journey. They have never been heard from since. It is said that the Quapaws do not know where they come from and we think that they may be descended from this family.

b. When the Winnebago lived on Lake Michigan the tribe was so large that each clan had its own chief and a general chief presided over the whole tribe. After a while it became so hard to obtain food that a band of Winnebago went south. They never returned. These are now in the Southwest. Some of them are the Missouri and some the Iowa. Band after band kept moving away until only one was left—the present Winnebago.

[1] The Mandans, Papers of the Peabody Museum. Vol. III, no. 4, pp. 97-98, Cambridge, 1908.

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173 The other tribes of the second "migration" have semihistorical legends telling of their separation from the Winnebago. Major Bean told Maximilian that an Oto chief had informed him that originally the Winnebago inhabited the lakes and that they subsequently migrated to the Southwest, presumably in pursuit of buffalo. At Green Bay they divided, the Winnebago remaining there while the others continued their journey.

Dorsey was informed by Iowa chiefs[1] that "their people and the Oto, Missouri, Omaha, and Ponca 'once formed part of the Winnebago nation.' According to the traditions of these tribes, at an early period they came with the Winnebago from their prisean home north of the Great Lakes, but that the Winnebago stopped on the shore of a great lake (Lake Michigan), attracted by the abundant fish."

101 When the Winnebago were first discovered they were entirely surrounded by Central Algonquian tribes. To the north of them lay the Menominee on the shore of Green Bay, to the southeast the Miami, to the south and southwest the Sauk and Fox, and to the west the Ojibwa. The nearest of their kindred were in southern Iowa, western Wisconsin, and eastern Minnesota. Under these circumstances it is not strange that the Winnebago show marked evidence [177] of Central Algonquian influence (fig. 1).

● 174 At what time the Winnebago were isolated from their Siouan kindred it is impossible to state. We doubt, however, whether this occurred before the sixteenth century. The Central Algonquian tribes in this region are clearly intruders. The Ojibwa came from the northeast and the Fox, Miami, etc., from the south and the southeast. It seems clear, to judge from the number of effigy mounds found in the territory occupied by the Fox and Miami, that the Winnebago had lived there for a considerable length of time before they were pushed westward and northwestward by these tribes. When the Menominee arrived, and from what direction, it is difficult to determine. On purely linguistic grounds, judging from the close relationship of Menominee to Fox, we might assume that they, like the Fox and the Miami, entered Wisconsin from the south. In that case they might either be interpreted as representing the northernmost extension of the same migration which carried the Miami northward along the shore of Lake Michigan or as representing a prior invasion along the same route. If the latter assumption is correct, they may have arrived in Wisconsin before the Winnebago. One point seems [648] to confirm the thesis of their priority, namely, that they were never at war with the Winnebago, and it hardly seems possible that, had

[1] Handbook of Amer. Indn., Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 30, part 1, p. 962, Washington, 1907.

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they forced their way through the country occupied by the Winnebago, war would not have occurred.

The Winnebago call themselves *Hotcangara*, which has been variously interpreted as "people of the parent speech" by James Owen Dorsey and as "big fish people" by other observers. Dorsey's explanation, which is the one most generally accepted, is most certainly wrong, and represents an interpretation read into the word to make it fit the legends which claimed that the dialect was the most archaic of all the Siouan languages. It is true that *ho* may mean "speech," but *tcunk* can only mean one thing, and that is "big, real." It is found with a number of animal names, such as *hetcunk*, "turtle," and *conktcunk*, "wolf." It corresponds strictly to the Dakotan *tank*, "large." *Ho* means "fish" in Winnebago. The name Winnebago, as is well known, is of Algonquian origin.

The Winnebago were first encountered by white men in 1634, when Jean Nicolet visited them as agent for Governor Champlain. Where he encountered them is not definitely known. The Winnebago as a rule claim that it was at Green Bay. Some discussion has arisen of late years on this question. No contemporary narrative of the event exists, nor have the Winnebago any clearly marked legend that might be interpreted as referring to it.

An excellent description of their history has been given by P. V. Lawson [1] and from this we will quote at some length, selecting those periods that are of greatest importance in the history of the tribe and which can be illustrated by semihistorical legends still known to the Winnebago.

Much of our knowledge of the early history of the Winnebago is derived from Baqueville de la Potherie's Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale. A good deal of his information was obtained from Nicholas Perrot. For the period covering the years 1640–1660 we have the following information: [2]

> A few years ago, they numbered possibly 150 warriors. These savages have no mutual fellow-feeling; they have caused their own ruin, and have been obliged to divide their own forces. They are naturally very impatient of control, and very passionate; a little matter excites them; and they are great braggarts. They are, however, well-built, and are brave soldiers, who do not know what danger is; and they are subtle and crafty in war. Although they are convinced that their ancestors drew upon themselves the enmity of all the surrounding Nations, they cannot be humble. Their women are extremely laborious; they are neat in their houses, but very disgusting about their food.

[1] The Winnebago tribe, in Wisconsin Archæologist, vol. 6, no. 3, Milwaukee, 1907.
[2] Quoted in Lawson's paper, p. 33.

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172 the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, a territory in which the Winnebago have no recollection of ever having lived. The first question is very difficult to answer. There is always the possibility that some mounds may yet be discovered and again it is possible that all have been leveled considerably. The apparent persistency with which the Winnebago held to the custom of mound building during their forced migration since the eighteenth century, even when they lived in [174] places for only a short time, and the absence of any mounds in their legendary home, suggest the possibility that they never lived permanently near Green Bay.[1] This inference has not been drawn from a study of the archeological but from a study of the historical sources, by Mr. P. V. Lawson.[2] In this paper the writer tries to prove that all the old sources point to Doty Island situated in Fox River, at the foot of Lake Winnebago, as the place where Nicollet first met the Winnebago. Whatever the merits of the case may be, it is certain that, according to the Winnebago themselves, their original home was Green Bay. Into this tradition many legendary details have, of course, been woven, and it seems to us that the presumption of evidence favors Green Bay, although the complete absence of what seems to have been such a characteristic feature of Winnebago culture as effigy mounds suggests a possibility that the Green Bay settlement represented just the northernmost extension of the tribe. The large settlements found along Lake Winnebago so soon after Nicollet's landing make it reasonably certain that the Winnebago had been there before his arrival in Wisconsin.

We will also have to assume that the Winnebago erected the effigy mounds along the western shore of Lake Michigan, in an area that, since the coming of the whites, has been occupied successively by the Miami and Potawatomi. This would indicate that the Winnebago [174] originally came in a compact mass from the south. They, however, have no recollection of this fact and it must indeed have taken place a long time ago. This is, of course, only an hypothesis.

172 The effigy mounds are unquestionably supposed to represent the 178 eponymous clan animals of the Winnebago. It seems, however, as if three clan animals were never represented—namely, the wolf, the buffalo, and the fish. It is possible that the mound found near the asylum grounds at Madison, Wis., is intended to represent a wolf, but, even if this could be established, it would not explain the apparent absence of any more examples of one of the most important Winnebago clans.

[1] The absence of any mention of them in early records has no significance, for even in the nineteenth century, in regions where it seems incredible that they should have escaped notice, no mention is ever made of them by travelers.

[2] "The Habitat of the Winnebago," in the Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1908. Mr. A. C. Neville in a previous paper published in the Proceedings of 1909, sought to establish the thesis of a Green Bay home from the same data.

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It might be said that all recollection of the making of wooden vessels could easily have been lost in the last century or two and that therefore too much weight should not be given to present ignorance of the subject. There are a number of reasons, however, why ignorance in this particular case might be significant. First, many indications point to workmanship of a low order among the Winnebago in the manufacture of artifacts; second, there are many suggestions of two cultural strata in this tribe; third, while the Winnebago in Wisconsin still use wooden vessels, many of them claim that these were introduced; and fourth, all the informants who gave this information were old people. If the author were to hazard an hypothesis, it would be the following: In very early times few objects were fashioned out of wood, but gradually contact with the Menominee led to the introduction of many wooden vessels, and finally the acquisition of European axes, knives, and other implements made it possible to manufacture such vessels in large numbers. A similar explanation was offered by an Indian with regard to the use of dugouts.

Besides wood as a material for dishes and spoons of various kinds and sizes, shells were utilized, while sticks served as knives.

All informants agree that neither bone nor stone were used in the manufacture of utensils.

For cooking, clay pots were used. These vessels, most of which were very large, with round bottoms, always hung over the fire. The material used in their manufacture was blue clay found at Green Bay, on or near the site of St. Paul, Minn., mixed with shell shards, glue from sturgeon vetrebræ, and the gelatinous substance in the horns of the deer.[1] The addition of these ingredients greatly increased the cohesiveness of the clay. The material was either molded with the hands or in holes of the desired shape dug in the ground and lined with leaves. Finally, the vessels were dried over a slow fire in small kilns constructed for the purpose. None of the clay vessels were provided with handles. Some were ornamented with geometric patterns. The irregular incised designs on some Winnebago vessels are the impressions of grass blades with which the mold was lined.[2]

Fire making.—In former times fire was always made by means of a simple fire drill. This method is still used for ceremonial occasions.

Tanning.—The author never witnessed the process of tanning. The description obtained agrees exactly with that of Mr. A. Skinner here quoted:[3]

> After the skin has been removed, the hair is scraped from it. During this process the skin is hung over an obliquely inclined log, one end of which has been smoothed

[1] One informant gave a description of pottery making in which a wheel was used, but as no other Winnebago corroborated this statement the author is convinced that it is inaccurate.

[2] Author, Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist. pt. iv, pt. ii, pp. 369-380.

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PART II

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—GENERAL DISCUSSION

We are justified in assuming that the twofold division of the Winnebago and the southern Siouan tribes, Dhegiha and Teiwere, had a common historical origin. Our identification is based upon the existence in these three tribal units of specific similarities apart from those of social organization. Positive proof that the type of social organization is historically identical among these tribes is not, however, forthcoming. This will become even more apparent when we consider the twofold division from the point of view of the names they bear, the subdivisions within them, and their specific functions.

According to our informants, the twofold organization among the Dhegiha and Teiwere only existed upon specific occasions, when the tribe was on the tribal hunt. We are in complete ignorance as to whether in olden times this arrangement was reflected in the village, but we know that whether it was or not, the twofold division was present in a very definite manner in the consciousness of the people themselves; that is, every individual definitely knew to which one of the two divisions he belonged and that certain names and functions were associated with them. The moment, however, that we stop to analyze these names, functions, etc., we realize at once that to-day they connote different ideas in the different tribes under discussion. The names of the divisions seem particularly significant in this connection. Among the Omaha they are known as Ictacunda and Hanga, probably connoting Sky people and Leaders; among the Ponca, as Wajaje and Teiju, Earth and Thunder; among the Kansa, as Yata and Ictunga, Right side and Left side; among the Osage as Teiju and Hanga, Peace and War side. The names for the Kwapa, Oto, Missouri, and Iowa are not known. It will be seen at a glance that the terms Teiju and Ictacunda are identical, and it will also be noticed by reference to the monographs of J. O. Dorsey and Miss Alice C. Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, that these names as well as the name Hanga are names of subdivisions within these divisions. Were these names first used to designate the two divisions or the subdivisions? There seems to be no reason for believing that the

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names were first applied to the larger divisions, whereas a number of facts speak strongly in favor of the reverse. In no case, for instance, can it be shown that the two divisions, per se, have any functions except that of regulating marriage. The various political and ceremonial functions displayed pertain to the subdivisions composing them. Owing to the massing together of a number of such functions on each side, we often obtain the impression that these belong to the larger unit, as such. And indeed this may be said to be true at the present time, in so far as the functions of one subdivision have become identified with the larger unit. All that we wish to point out here is that the names of the two divisions may be different, and that they may connote different ideas in the different divisions of an historically related culture, due to specific historical development within each. Among the Dhegiha there seem to be a number of reasons for assuming that the present names of the two divisions are not the historically primary ones.

It is far more difficult to discuss the names of the subdivisions or "gentes" within the two larger divisions. From a comparative point of view it must be regarded as significant that the names of the subdivisions within the Teiwere tribes tally almost exactly with those of the Winnebago and that those of the Dhegiha tribes tally with the names of many of the two latter, although they possess, in addition, a large number not found among them. The Teiwere and Winnebago have animal appellations for their clans, the Dhegiha have animal appellations plus a type of designation descriptive of animal taboo. Which of the two types is the older it is difficult to say. This fact might be noted, however, that the animal names have, to a large extent, been forgotten and that the descriptive taboo appellations have not; that in a number of cases there is some reason for believing that these animal appellations have been reinterpreted and in other cases replaced by nonanimal designations; that the origin myths of these divisions always explain why a certain animal is associated with a subdivision, and rarely the origin of the taboo name; and lastly, that the majority of personal names are strictly comparable to the clan names of the Winnebago and the Teiwere. On the other hand, the descriptive taboo type of name is found frequently among the band appellations of the Plains Indians, with whom the Omaha had come into intimate contact and by whom they had been influenced along definite lines of ceremonial and social development. For these reasons we would like to suggest that the animal appellations are historically primary and that the taboo type became subsequently popular and spread over the whole tribe. Examples of changes in the names of subdivisions are by no means isolated. The Winnebago exhibit a tendency to substitute names indicative of the function of a clan for the old animal names—and this

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has gone so far that a large number of individuals would probably deny to-day that the Hawk and the Warrior clan are one and the same. Again, among the Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw we find Sun and Star clans, and, if we were to imagine that for some reason or another the latter type of name became popular, it might here become dominant within a comparatively short time.

Like a twofold division, the clan may connote a number of different things to the minds of the Indians. The Omaha apparently used the term *tawoqgthe*, which means literally "place-of-habitation-of-those-related," *gthe* being the possessive-reflexive pronoun. It would thus seem to coincide with a geographical unit. The Quapaw use the term *enikucige*, evidently meaning "people"; the Kansa, the term *uayumida*, "those-who-sing-together"; the Osage, the term *peda*, "fireplace"; and the Winnebago, the term *hokik'a'radjera*, "those-related-to-one-another." The remarks made about the specific names of the twofold divisions apply here. There is no reason for assuming that these are historically primary. A possible historical hint that they are not will be mentioned later.

The twofold division apparently regulates nothing but marriage. It has at the present time no other function, per se. Nevertheless, a number of ethnologists, and for that matter Indians themselves, speak of the functions of the two sides. If we consider the Omaha "circle," we notice that practically all the ceremonial functions are on one side; that among the Osage "war" and "peace" functions are found on both sides; and that, as a matter of fact, the functions of war and peace apparently relate to a certain reciprocal relation existing between the two divisions. Indeed, there is no reason to justify the use of these terms. Among the Iowa, J. O. Dorsey quotes Hamilton to the effect that the regulation of the hunt and other tribal affairs was in the hands of one "phratry" during the autumn and winter, and in that of the other in spring and summer. It is, however, doubtful whether this was the case. Among the Winnebago, as we shall see, the functions of war and peace were grouped together on one side, the functions of the other side being confined to those relating to the policing and regulation of the hunt. But the only fact of importance to us here is not whether there appears a balancing of functions connected with the social organization, but whether the Indian thinks there is; and here the consensus of opinion favors the view that no Omaha would, for example, suppose that the Hangacenu division, as such, was the custodian of the real pipes of peace. This belonged to the Inkesabe gens, and there is not a shred of evidence to support the view that it was delegated to that clan by the larger unit. The same reasoning applies to the Hanga clan. That the importance of the possessions of the latter clan played an important part in the associations of the Omaha, even to the extent

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of impressing its name upon the whole division, we do not doubt for a moment. Other reasons may have led to the designation of the other half by the name of one of its component clans.

Similarly, among the Ponca, the Wajaje half corresponds to the Wajaje clan, the keepers of the sacred pipe; and among the Osage, the Teiju and the Hanga divisions of one side, and the Wajaje divisions of the other, correspond to the clans with the same name that are associated with important ceremonial-political functions. On the other hand, we have the fact that among the Kansa the names of the two large divisions are distinct from any of the clans in those divisions, and the same is true for the Teiju division of the Ponca. If we correlate this last fact with the apparent absence of any association of important ceremonial or political functions with specific clans, the suggestion might be permitted that no incentive existed in the minds of these people for the clan becoming identified with the larger divisions. Among the Winnebago the names for the divisions are quite different from those of the clans composing them, but at the present time the fact that the clan in each division has definite functions and powers has reacted on the interpretation of the social organization, and it is quite customary to refer to one half as *hųnk* or "chiefs," and to the other as *manap'e* or "soldiers," although the latter is not common.

In short, we have a right to see, in all the facts mentioned, indications of a possible historical development whose characteristics seem to lie in the identification of the name and function of an important clan with that of a much larger division.

[182] The Winnebago social organization has long since broken down, but its details are still so well preserved in the minds of the older men, and particularly in the literature of the tribe, that no difficulty was experienced in reconstructing it. This reconstruction, however, does not enable us to determine the relation of the clan and dichotomous division to the distribution of the tribe over the large area once occupied in Wisconsin. That the 4,000-odd individuals composing the tribe at the advent of the whites lived together is extremely doubtful. The nature of the woodlands of Wisconsin and the fairly extensive territory over which the Winnebago were found scattered not long after Nicolet's first visit are facts that practically exclude such a hypothesis. The myth that speaks of a village that at one time was so long that those living at one end did not know what was transpiring at the other contains too many literary touches to justify its use as an historical document.

The question, therefore, of village groups is of considerable importance, because there may have been, cutting across the general organization, another smaller, perhaps looser social unit, that of "band" or village, setting off one group against another. Systematic question-

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616 that, as mentioned before, were a new clan introduced now among the Winnebago its position would depend exclusively upon the nature of the animal associated with it. As similar reasons dictate clan
614 groupings among some of the Central Algonquian tribes, a few words
825 concerning this type of association will not be amiss. The groupings of the fauna into a distinct number of categories is extremely common in North America. Among the Winnebago, a number of other Siouan, and Central Algonquian tribes, there was a fivefold classification: earth animals, sky animals, empyrean animals, aquatic animals, and subaquatic animals. Among the Winnebago the thunderbird belongs to the empyrean; the eagle, hawk, and pigeon, to the sky; the bear and wolf, to the earth; the fish, to the water; and the water-spirit, below the water. This religio-mythological conception has unquestionably received a certain amount of sympathetic elaboration at the hands of shamans, and particularly at the hands of the [196] leaders of such ceremonies as the Winter Feast, the Clan Feast, and the Clan Wake, as well as at the hands of those who had in their keeping the clan origin myths.

The characteristics of the thunderbird, eagle, bear, and water-spirit as clan animals, and as animals connected with a division of fauna, are also related to the general conception of these animals per se. The eagle and hawk are birds of prey; the thunderbird is generally a deity granting long life, and associated with peace, although his connection with war is also common. Similarly, the bear is supposed to have a "soldier" nature, and the water-spirit is intimately associated with rites pertaining to crossing streams, calming the sea, and ownership of water property. This correlation unquestionably indicates an influence of the religio-mythological conception of the animal upon the social group with which it is associated. How far this can go is abundantly attested by the names and behavior of the *waŋgeregi* and *manegi* divisions.

On the other hand, we may legitimately ask what influence the two divisions had in molding the attributes of these animals, or upon the behavior of the groups with which their name was associated. The functions of a warrior may have determined, as they certainly have accentuated, the "warrior" characteristics of the eagle and hawk, nor is there any easily intelligible reason why the thunderbird should be associated with peace. From our knowledge of the social organization of other Siouan tribes, the political func- [177] tions of the clan seem to be the characteristic feature of the organization, and this being the case, the possibility of associations of warlike and peaceful attributes with animals may as much be ascribed to the influence of the social unit as vice versa. With regard to such functions as the exogamy of the two divisions or that of the clans, or of the reciprocal burial relationship of the *waŋgeregi* and

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614 825 776 the spirit, but there is no doubt that every vision is symbolized by a special gift from the "spirit." The guardian spirit unit may thus be said to consist of a special religious attitude plus a symbol.

The attitude toward the clan animal differs from that toward the guardian spirit in this characteristic respect, that more emphasis is laid upon identification with the animal itself than with the "spirit." As far as could be determined, the clan animal is the thunderbird with his characteristics of lightning and thunder, of the bear who likes honey and raisins, etc. The animal is engraved as clan symbol [423] and used as a property mark, and he is brought into intimate contact with the group by the postulation of descent. Naturally, descent is not from the "spirit" animal but from the living animal species. Nevertheless the clan animal has, at the same time, retained its place as a guardian spirit, and in a most suggestive way, for the blessing of a clan animal is more easily obtained by a member of the clan than by an outsider. The clan animal is, in short, a clan protector.

In this change of attitude two considerations seem pertinent: first, the possibility of the "spirit" of the guardian spirit being a product of the esoteric elaboration connected with religious societies, and that its apparent absence in the clan animal represents an exoteric conception; secondly, under the influence of the social functions of the clan, an originally strong religious conception of the clan animal gave place to an identification with the animal species itself. It might be objected that there is no inherent correlation between social organization and animal species as contrasted with spirit animals. It seems certain, however, that descent could only be reckoned from the animal, and as long as descent is postulated it must be from the animal. With regard to the historical priority of the "spirit" conception, little can be definitely said except that the systematization it has undergone suggests the influence of esoteric societies, and that the visions obtained during fasting appear to speak of the guardian "spirit" as an animal. On general psychological considerations we are inclined to believe in the contrast of the material and spiritual conception of the animal as a real fact, although it would be hazardous to say whether one or the other lies at the basis of the attitude of the individual toward his clan animal.

RELATIONSHIP TO CLAN ANIMALS

614 825 The question of descent from the animal brings us to the consideration of the whole intricate relationship of the individual to the clan animal, a subject that has played so prominent a part in discussions of totemism. There are two distinct sources for the determination of this relationship—data obtained in reply to direct [124 174] questioning, and that contained in some miscellaneous myths and in the origin myths.

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CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—SPECIFIC CLANS

The Thunderbird Clan

INTRODUCTION

The Thunderbird clan was unquestionably the most important of all the Winnebago clans. In numbers it seems to have equaled the three other clans of its phratry, and, since the upper phratry had about as many individuals as the lower phratry, the Thunderbird clan must have comprised about one-fourth of the entire tribe. How are we to explain this? Historical data are, of course, missing, so that any explanation reached is entirely hypothetical, but still it seems justifiable to hazard some interpretation. The most plausible hypothesis is to assume that the Winnebago were originally organized on a village basis and that the largest of these villages and the earliest to adopt the clan organization were those that took the thunderbird as their totem.

In the origin myths, the origin of the Thunderbird clan is always given as Green Bay, and in contradistinction to the accounts of other clans, the ancestors of the clan are supposed to have originated at Green Bay and not to have traveled there from some other place. How much credence is to be given to such a localization it is hard to say, but assuredly it should not be dismissed as entirely worthless.

The origin myths of the Thunderbird clan possess some interesting features which deserve a few words of comment. In the first version we have an account of the creation of the world which is almost identical with that given in the origin myth of the Medicine Dance (p. 350). None of the other clan origin myths contain it. How are we to explain this? As a secondary accretion or as an original and archaic feature? On internal evidence we suspect that it is a secondary accretion and that the original version began with the second paragraph. There seems to be no intelligible reason for having Earthmaker create two sets of individuals. If we suppose that the original version began with the second paragraph and that the general account of the creation was subsequently added, we would have a satisfactory explanation of this feature. Only one of the three versions obtained contains this general ac-

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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[p. 1]

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The Social Organization of the Winnebago Indians. An Interpretation.[1]

By Paul Radin.

INTRODUCTION.

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The social organization of the Winnebago is based upon a twofold division of the tribe, which seems to represent an historically ultimate social grouping, not only for the Winnebago but likewise for a majority of the other Siouan tribes—the Dhegiha group,[2] the Tciwere group,[3] the Hidatsa, and the Mandan. What its original significance for these tribes was, it is now impossible to determine, for the different re-interpretations it has undergone necessarily preclude, in the absence of historical data, the possibility of satisfactorily demonstrating this point. As a matter of historical fact, we do not even know whether we are to regard the above social grouping as having been a common possession of these tribes before they parted company, or as having developed among one of them and subsequently spreading among the others. Could we unhesitatingly assume as criteria the tenacity with which these people adhere to this grouping when in contact with other groupings and the intimate linguistic and cultural relationship that seems to exist, at least between

[1] Based on notes in the private possession of the author.
[2] Includes Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kansas, and Quapaw.
[3] Includes Oto, Iowa, and Missouri.

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174 the Winnebago, Dhegiha, and Teiwere, we would be compelled
616 to accept as true the former of these historical possibilities. Such, as a matter of fact, is probably the correct interpretation. However, it might properly be objected that the Mandan, certainly the Hidatsa, do not exhibit such an intimate cultural and linguistic relationship to the other tribes mentioned and yet exemplify the same social grouping; that it is found among the Creek and among a number of other tribes. The twofold grouping associated with exogamy has indeed developed frequently enough to justify us in including it in a consideration of historical possibilities.

Even were we to accept in toto the criteria of tenacity, how much does it tell us of social organization? The social unit is itself a complex, and it is absolutely essential to know whether it is the social unit as such, or some element of the complex, that is really the prime mover in the "tenacity" exhibited. A few examples will make this point clear. The Melanesian societies exclude women. They are, however, in all cases associated with religious and ceremonial observances in which women do not participate. Now, is the "tenacity" that the societies exhibit with regard to the exclusion of women an expression of the nature of a "society" or is it historically the reflex expression of the religious and ceremonial observances associated with it? Among the White-earth Ojibwa, an Englishman or an American who marries into the tribe is enrolled in two new clans, the Lion and the Eagle, these animals having become associated in the Indian mind as clan totems with the respective people. That is, all the manifold differences of social organization between the Ojibwa and the whites play an insignificant role as compared with a grouping apparently determined by "religious" criteria. Strangers, like Dakota, who have no animal associated with them, have among the Ojibwa no social status. Among the Winnebago, again, if a new clan were to be adopted among them, its connexion with one or the other of the divisions would depend upon its clan animal. If the clan animal was a bird, it would immediately be placed in one of the divisions; if any other animal, it would belong to the other division.

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These examples bring out quite forcibly the point made above, that the "tenacity" exhibited to-day or at any particular time is itself not a constant, for at different epochs different elements of the social unit may determine it. That, however, the twofold division of the Winnebago is a social-political grouping is, I believe, unquestionable, although to-day, to the minds of the Winnebago, not the social-political grouping, but one element—and probably one that has been secondarily associated with the original grouping—determines to what half a new clan shall belong.

These general considerations are of considerable importance in the study of Siouan culture, because we are there confronted with a specific application of the criteria of "tenacity" and quantitative resemblances. The twofold division of the tribe is found among the Winnebago, Dhegiha, Tciwere, Hidatsa, and Mandan. The Dhegiha and Tciwere show numerous cultural and specific sociological similarities to the Winnebago, and this, together with the intimate linguistic affiliation, makes it fairly certain that the twofold division goes back to a common origin. Difficulties in the interpretation appear, however, as soon as we approach the Hidatsa and Mandan, who present only general cultural similarities to the above-mentioned tribes, and among whom nevertheless a dichotomous social division exists. If dichotomy is the significant factor in the social organization of all these tribes, one might very well claim that here an example of the "tenacity" of social organization is to be found.

Such reasoning is, however, a typical example of a purely detached analytical interpretation. The essential characteristic of this social organization is not the dichotomy but the cultural complex-dichotomy, exogamy, specific names, and the functions of the two halves. Now, while it may be justifiable to consider this division as historically primary for the Winnebago, Dhegiha, and Tciwere, it does not follow, owing to the innumerable possibilities of the formation of a twofold division, that wherever such a division is found and a linguistic relationship can be demonstrated, we are dealing with a common cultural possession. These social organizations can only then be considered as com-

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parable when it can be demonstrated that the salient elements of the complex are the same. In the absence, however, of historical data, sameness at any given time may only mean sameness in the interpretation of the cultural phenomena by the people.

INTERPRETATION OF THE TWOFOLD DIVISION AND THE CLANS.

We have assumed that the twofold division of the Winnebago, Dhegiha, and Tciwere had a common historical origin, because this complex is the same in each case. As we have seen, our identification was based upon the existence in these three tribal units of specific similarities apart from those of social organization. Rigid proof that the type of social organization is historically identical among these tribes is not, however, forthcoming. This will become even more apparent when we consider the twofold division from the point of view of the names they bear, the subdivisions within them, and their specific functions.

According to our informants the twofold organization among the Dhegiha and Tciwere only existed upon specific occasions, when the tribe was on the tribal hunt. We are in complete ignorance as to whether in olden times this arrangement was reflected in the village, but we know that whether it was or not, the twofold division was present in a very difinite manner in the consciousness of the people themselves, i.e., every individual definitely knew to which one of the two divisions he belonged, and that certain names and functions were associated with them. The moment, however, that we stop to analyse these names, functions, etc., we realize at once that to-day they connote different ideas in the different tribes under discussion. The names of the divisions seem particularly significant in this connexion. Among the Omaha they are known as *Icıacunda* and *Hanga*, probably connoting Sky people and Leaders; among the Ponka as *Wajaje* and *Tcinu*, Earth and Thunder; among the Kansa as *Yata* and *Ictanga*, Right side and Left side; among the Osage as *Tcinu* and *Hanga*, Peace and War side. The names for the Kwapa, Oto, Missouri, and Iowa are not

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known. It will be seen at a glance that the terms *Ictacunda* and *Tcijo* are identical, and it will also be noticed by reference to the monographs of J. O. Dorsey[1] and Miss A. Fletcher and F. La Flesche[2] that these names as well as the name *Hoŋga* are names of subdivisions within these divisions. Were these names first used to designate the two divisions or the subdivisions? There seems to be no reason for believing that the names were first applied to the larger divisions, whereas a number of facts speak strongly in favour of the reverse. In no case, for instance, can it be shown that the two divisions *per se* have any functions except that of regulating marriage. The various political and ceremonial functions displayed by these divisions pertain to the subdivisions composing them. Owing to the massing together of a number of such functions on each side, we often obtain the impression that these belong to the larger unit as such. And indeed this may be said to be true at the present time, in so far as the functions of one subdivision have become identified with the larger unit. We will treat of these points afterwards. All that we wish to point out here is that the names of the two divisions may be different, and that they may connote different ideas in the different divisions of an historically related culture, due to specific historical development within each. Among the Degiha, there seem to be a number of reasons for assuming that the present names of the two divisions are not the historically primary ones, and we will have to look askance at such an attempt as that of Miss Fletcher and F. LaFlesche to regard the names of the Ictacunda and Hoŋga divisions of the Omaha as indicating the historically fundamental religio-social concepts of that tribe.

It is far more difficult to discuss the names of the subdivisions or "gentes" within the two larger divisions. From a comparative point of view it must be regarded as significant that the names of the subdivisions within the Tciwere tribes tally almost exactly with those of the Winnebago and that those of the Dhegiha tribes tally with the names of many of the two latter, although they possess, in addition, a large number not

[1] "A Study of Siouan Cults," B. A. E. Annual Reports, Vol. XI.
[2] "The Omaha Tribe," Ibid., Vol. XXVII.

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174 614 found among them. The Tciwere and Winnebago have animal appellations for their clans, the Dhegiha have animal appellations, plus type of designation, descriptive of animal taboo. Which of the two types is older it is difficult to say. The fact might be noted, however, that the animal names have, to a large extent, been forgotten and that the descriptive taboo-appellations have not; that in a number of cases there is some reason for believing that these animal appellations have been re-interpreted and in other cases replaced by non-animal designations; that the origin myths of these divisions *always* explain why a certain animal is associated with a subdivision, and rarely the origin of the taboo name; and, lastly, that the larger percentage of personal names is strictly comparable to the clan names of the Winnebago and the Tciwere. On the other hand, the descriptive taboo type of name is found frequently among the band appellations of the Plains Indians, with whom the Omaha have come in intimate contact and by whom they have been influenced along definite lines of ceremonial and social development. For these reasons we would like to suggest that the animal appellations are historically primary and that the taboo type became subsequently popular and spread over the whole tribe. Examples of changes in the names of subdivisions are by no means isolated. The Winnebago exhibit a tendency to substitute names indicative of the function of a clan for the old animal names—and this has gone so far that a large number of individuals would probably deny to-day that the Hawk and the Warrior clan are one and the same. Again, among the Osage, Kansa, and Kwapa we find Sun and Star clans, and, if we were to imagine that for some reason or another the latter type of name became popular, it might here become dominant within a comparatively short time.

Like the twofold division, the clan may connote a number of different things to the minds of the Indians. The Omaha apparently use the term *ɪoⁿwoggᵭoⁿ*, which means literally "place-of-habitation-of-those-related," *gᵭǫ* being the possessive-reflexive pronoun. It would thus seem to coincide with a geographical unit. The Kwapa use the term *eníkacíga*, evidently meaning "people"; the Kansa, the term *waɣuⁿjídą*, "those-who-

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sing-together"; the Osage, the term *ṗeda*, "fireplace"; and the Winnebago, the term *hokik'a-radjəra*, "those-related-to-one-another." The remarks made about the specific names of the twofold divisions apply here. There is no reason for assuming that these names are historically primary. A possible historical hint that they are not will be mentioned later.

The twofold division apparently regulates nothing but marriage. It has at the present time no other function *per se*. Nevertheless, a number of ethnologists, and for that matter Indians themselves, speak of the functions of the two sides. If we consider the Omaha "circle," we notice that practically all the ceremonial functions are on one side; that among the Osage "war" and "peace" functions are found on both sides; and that, as a matter of fact, the functions of war and peace apparently relate to a certain reciprocal relation existing between the two divisions. Indeed, there is no reason to justify the use of these terms. Among the Iowa, J. O. Dorsey quotes Hamilton to the effect that the regulation of the hunt and other tribal affairs was in the hands of one "phratry" during the autumn and winter, and in that of the other in spring and summer. It is, however, doubtful whether this was the case. Among the Winnebago, as we shall see, the functions of war and peace were grouped together on one side, the functions of the other side being confined to those relating to the policing and regulation of the hunt. But the only fact with which we can concern ourselves is not whether there appears a balancing of functions connected with the social organization, but whether the Indian thinks there is; and here the consensus of opinion favours the view that no Omaha, e.g., would for a moment suppose that the *Hangacena* division as such was the custodian of the real pipes of peace. This belonged to the *Inkesabe* gens, and there is not a shred of evidence to support the view that it was delegated to that clan by the larger unit. The same reasoning applies to the *Hanga* clan. That the importance of the possessions of the latter clan played an important part in the associations of the Omaha, even to the extent of impressing its name upon the whole division, we do not doubt for a moment. Other reasons

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174 may have led to the designation of the other half by the name of one of its component clans.

182 Similarly, among the Ponka, the *Wajaje* half corresponds to the *Wajaje* clan, the keepers of the sacred pipe; and among the Osage, the *Tcĳu* and *Hanga* divisions of one side, and the *Wajaje* divisions of the other correspond to clans with the same name that are associated with important ceremonial-political functions. On the other hand, we have the fact that among the Kansa the names of the two large divisions are distinct from any of the clans in those divisions, and the same is true for the *Tcĳu* division of the Ponka. If we correlate this last fact with the apparent absence of any association of important ceremonial or political functions with specific clans, the suggestion might be permitted that no incentive existed in the minds of these people for the clan becoming identified with the larger divisions. Among the Winnebago, the names for the divisions are quite different from those of the clans composing them, but at the present time the fact that the clan in each division has definite functions and powers has reacted on the interpretation of the social organization, and it is quite customary to refer to one half as *hųnk'* or "Chiefs," and to the other as "*manąp'e*" or "Soldiers," the latter name for the second phratry, however, not being common.

In short, we have a right to see in all the facts mentioned indications of a possible historical development whose characteristics seem to lie in the identification of the name and function of an important clan with that of a much larger division.

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE WINNEBAGO.

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RELATION OF THE PRESENT TO PREVIOUS WINNEBAGO TYPES OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

The Winnebago social organization has long since broken down, but its details are still so well preserved in the minds of the older men, and particularly in the literature of the tribe, that no difficulty was experienced in reconstructing it. This reconstruction, however, does not enable us to determine the relation of the clan and dichotomous division to the distribution of the

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tribe over the large area once occupied in Wisconsin. That the 4,000 odd individuals composing the tribe at the advent of the whites lived together is extremely doubtful. The nature of the woodland of Wisconsin and the fairly extensive territory over which they (Winnebago) were found scattered not long after Nicollet's first visit are facts that practically exclude such a hypothesis. The myth that speaks of a village that at one time was so long that those living at one end did not know what was transpiring at the other, contains too many literary touches to justify its use as an historical document.

The question of village groups is of considerable importance, because there may have been, cutting across the gentle organization, another smaller, perhaps looser social unit, that of "band" or village setting off (to the minds of the people) one group against another. Systematic questioning has elicited from various individuals the information, also corroborated by historical records, that the villages were generally known according to geographical location or were descriptive of the haunts of certain animals. Even to-day the group scattered over the Nebraska Winnebago reservation are commonly known under similar designations. There we find, for instance, the following names: *kozo-atcira*, "those living on the peninsula"; or *k'uhą'tcira*, "those living below," i.e., in the timber; *niuq'hatcira*, "those living near the dirty water"; *hutcxedegominaŋgera*, "where big bear settles," etc. If we may, then, suppose this to have been a customary association, we may quite properly ask whether the name of the village had any influence on the social organization, whether there is even a hint at a genetic relation between these two types of group names. The only hint of such a relation is the fact that formerly *koni* "band" seems to have been used instead of *kokik'aradjira;* that an archaic name of the Wolf clan, *regoni* or *degoni*, may mean Lake-band; and that the villages all had geographical names. All of which, however, is, I realize, hardly sufficient evidence.

No satisfactory demonstration has as yet been made indicating that the clan organization was ever associated with an historically simple social structure, whereas quite a number of reasons lead us to suspect that it was in all cases preceded by other

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174 types of organization. In North America there is quite considerable evidence tending to show that village-group organization often preceded the clan, and for that reason the facts brought out above may be of more than casual significance. That a system of clan names different from that now in use existed is borne out by the archaic names for the Bear and Wolf clans. That another system was making headway against the animal-name type is apparent from the disappearance of the name Hawk and the substitution of the term Warrior clan; and from the common custom of calling the Thunder and Bear clans Chief and Soldier clan respectively. What is especially significant is the fact that these three new names all represent the same type of change, the substitution for animal designations, with the correlated associations of descent or connexion with an animal ancestor, of designations indicative of the function of the clan. If the association of the social unit with a common animal ancestor was preceded by an association of a social unit with geographical location, we would then be able to demonstrate what is so rare in ethnology, the historical succession of types of naming. Having established that, there would be thrown open to us legitimately the historical-psychological question whether any necessary genetic relationship between these three types of naming existed, and whether this succession of names is to be regarded as a reflection of distinct changes in social organization.

THE TWOFOLD GROUPING—NAMES AND RELIGIO-MYTHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION.

174 The Winnebago are divided into two divisions, one known as the *waŋgereĝi herera*, "those who are above," the other as the *maŋeĝi herera*, "those who are on earth." Descent was reckoned in the paternal line. But these appellations refer to the animals after whom the clans are named, the term *waŋgereĝi* covering the birds, the term *maŋeĝi*, land and water animals. So firmly has this idea of the division of animal forms become associated with the two divisions that, as mentioned before, were a new clan introduced now among the Winnebago its position would depend exclusively upon the nature of the animal associated with it. As similar reasons dictate clan groupings among some of the Cen-

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tral Algonkin tribes, a few words concerning this type of association will not be amiss. The groupings of the fauna into a distinct number of categories is extremely common in North America. Among the Winnebago, a number of other Siouan, and Central Algonkin tribes, there was a fivefold classification: earth animals, sky animals, empyrean animals, aquatic animals, subaquatic animals. Among the Winnebago, the thunderbird belongs to the empyrean; the eagle, hawk, and pigeon, to the sky; the bear and wolf, to the earth; the fish, to the water; and the water spirit, below the water. This religio-mythological conception has unquestionably received a certain amount of sympathetic elaboration at the hands of shamans, and particularly at the hands of the leaders of such ceremonies as the Winter Feast, the Clan Feast, and the Clan Wake, as well as at the hands of those who had in their keeping the clan origin myths.

The characteristics of the thunderbird, eagle, bear, and water spirit as clan animals, and as animals connected with a division of fauna are related to the general conception of these animals *per se*. The eagle and hawk are birds of prey; the thunderbird is generally a deity granting long life, and associated with peace, although his connexion with war is by no means uncommon. Similarly, the bear is supposed to have a "soldier" nature, and the water spirit is intimately associated with rites pertaining to crossing streams, calming the sea, and ownership of water property. This correlation unquestionably indicates an influence of the religio-mythological conception of the animal upon the social group with which it is associated. How far this can go is abundantly attested by the names and behaviour of the *waŋgeregi* and *maŋegi* divisions.

On the other hand we may legitimately ask: what influence have the two divisions had upon moulding the attributes of these animals, or upon the behaviour of the groups with which their name is associated? The functions of a warrior may have determined, as they certainly have accentuated, the "warrior" characteristics of the eagle and hawk, nor is there any easily intelligible reason why the thunderbird should be associated with peace. From our knowledge of the social organization of other Siouan tribes, the political functions of the clan seem to be

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174 614 616 825 the characteristic feature of the organization, and this being the case, the probability of associations of warlike and peace attributes with animals may as much be ascribed to the influence of the social unit as vice versa. As regards such functions as the exogamy of the two divisions or that of the clans, or of the reciprocal burial relationship of the *waŋgeregi* and *maŋegi* divisions, we, of course, know that the characteristics of the animal in question have nothing to do with the matter. We must, then, realize that we are dealing with reciprocal influences, of the religio-mythological conception of animals on the one hand, and of political functions of social units on the other. In some cases, such as the specific associations of the water spirit, it is probable that the religio-mythological conception of the animal is dominant. The association of the thunderbird with fire has likewise not been due to any activity of the social unit; and thus examples might be multiplied. In this connexion, the fact that animals with whom a multitude of associations have already been established are subsequently associated with social units, is fundamental. From this point of view, the animal names of social organization are intrusive features, and we will consequently expect to find historical adjustments. This, we think, is what has taken place here. The animal name with its religio-mythological conceptions was a remarkably strong unit, even as compared with the political unit, and as a result reciprocal influences took place. Although the religio-mythological influence must have been marked, it appears to have changed none of the marital and other functions of the two divisions, nor the political functions of the clans. What it did change, and change fundamentally, was the interpretation of the social organization.

FUNCTIONS OF THE TWOFOLD DIVISION.

614 616 [582] [764] The only function that the *waŋgeregi* and *maŋegi* divisions seem to have had was the regulation of marriage. A *waŋgeregi* man had to marry a *maŋegi* woman, and vice versa. The only other function exercised by these divisions was, according to some informants, reciprocal burial. Here the religio-mythological interpretations seem in part to have determined this relation for a *maŋegi* man buried a *waŋgeregi* man because, as a "land

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171 The division of the
616 tribe into two halves when playing ceremonial lacrosse is characteristic not only of the Winnebago, but of the Omaha, Menominee,
526 Sauk, Fox, and other tribes. Among the former two, these sides are identical with the two aforementioned political divisions of the tribe, but among the latter two, where no such division exists, the tribe seems to divide itself into two halves merely on this occasion, although we know that this is not the only occasion upon which it behaves in this manner.

174 Up to the present, we have treated the two divisions as
614 social units *per se*, but now, before entering on the discussion of the clans, it may be well to point out the fact that the *waŋgeregi*
616 people are sometimes spoken of as the Bird clan (*waniŋk' hokik'aradjəra*), and that the four clans composing this side are so intimately related, and their clan origin myths so similar, one of them even declaring the other three bird clans to be merely the descendants of the three younger thunderbird ancestors, that the assumption of the four clans representing one clan that became split up into a number of divisions, is not outside the realm of historical possibility. This is, however, quite immaterial, for whether we have one bird clan opposed to eight other animal clans is of little consequence, since historically it is not the bird clan that is opposing the other clans, but one social unit, the division, set off against another. The numerical equality that exists between these two sides, in spite of the disparity in the number of clans, is perhaps another confirmation of the fundamental character of the twofold structure.

THE CLAN ORGANIZATION.

614 There are twelve clans (*hokik'aradjəra*) among the Winne-
[616] bago: the Thunderbird (*wak'andja*), the Warrior (*wonayere waŋkcik'*), the Eagle (*tcaxcep'*), and Pigeon (*ru'tcge*), now extinct, belonging to the *waŋgeregi* half; and the Bear (*huŋk'*), Wolf (*cuŋkcuŋk'*), Buffalo (*tce*), Water-spirit (*waktcexi*), Deer (*tca'*), Elk (*huwą*), Snake (*wak'ą*), and Fish (*ho'*), all belonging to the *mąŋegi* half.

In addition to the above names, we have the name Chief (*huŋk*) applied to the Thunderbird; Hawk (*heretcų*), to the Warrior; (*manųpe*) Soldier, to the Bear clans.

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Wolf
Water-spirit (?)
Buffalo
Deer
Elk
Snake

The same order was given by a number of other informants. In the Bear clan legend the order is water-spirit, birds, bears, and in practically all the versions of the Bear clan legends the bear always finds the footprints of the wolf, which would indicate that the latter had preceded him. Nevertheless, in the versions of the Wolf clan myth, the bear footprints are found by the Wolf people, and, strangely enough, in the same version the Wolf people are represented as the last clan, whereas in another version of the myth they are represented as being the first clan. In still another myth, the Water-spirit is represented as first, etc. These discrepancies can be explained in only one way, one that was to be expected, namely, that each clan tried to augment its own importance by insisting that it was one of the first, if not the first, to have originated. About one thing all seem to be agreed—that the Snake clan was the last. The Fish clan is rarely mentioned and, in general, appears to be a very late addition.

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It is thus clear that no historical importance can be attached to the order of the clans. More significance must, however, be attached to the statements that certain clans have originated at special places. Thus, while the majority trace their origin to Green bay, the members of the Warrior and Buffalo clan claim certain lakes far to the south of Green bay as their original home. Here the literary tendency to associate the origin of the clans with a lake of a definite character makes any discussion practically futile. It is, of course, quite plain that the tribe as a unit, localized in a definite place, did not adopt animal names for their various clans, but that a type of name gradually spread over all the local groups. One of these local groups may have become associated with a definite place of origin. Perhaps the association of Green bay as the place of origin is precisely such an instance. The local associations of the Warrior and Buffalo clans can also be taken as suggestive of an historical past. That the prevalent association of Green bay as the

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origin of the tribe is due to the literary-legendary tendency towards uniformity, is, on the whole, quite likely. This seems illustrated by the fact that the Warrior and Buffalo clans in some of the versions of their clan myths claim specific places, while others claim Green bay as their ancestral home. Green bay must, therefore, be considered as one of probably many local associations, connected with a prominent clan, which came to be accepted in the course of time by most of the others.

Arrangement of Clans in Village.

As in Figure 1, all the clans of the *waŋgeregi* division except the Thunderbird and Warrior, could occupy any position in the half-circle, and the same was true of those of the *maŋegi* division except the Bear clan. The Buffalo clan seems to have been grouped on the *waŋgeregi* side. However, in both divisions the members of each clan had to be grouped together, a segregation that was further emphasized by the erection near each clan of an earthen effigy of the clan animal. According to all informants, each village was inhabited by members of various clans; in no case did a village merely include members of the same clan, as seems to have been the case among the Menomini. Among the latter, village exogamy probably existed, while no trace of this is found among the Winnebago. This clan segregation in every Winnebago village became, after a while, practically identical with blood relationship, although the close relationship existing between members of the same clan may also partially represent the persistence of a local group consciousness.

This distribution of the same clan over many villages would, indeed, seem to militate against the local group origin of the clans, but it must be remembered that the clan organization was of considerable age and there is no reason to suppose that the local groups could have had any influence now discernible. The village arrangement must, of course, not be pushed too hard, for we should expect a tendency on the part of informants whose knowledge was entirely hearsay, to cast their information in a more or less schematic mould. The old village sites seem to indicate that the bird effigy was dominant in some places and

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174 the bear in others, although both are also often found together.

614 Looking at our facts from another point of view, it is quite clear that clan segregation must not be taken too literally. 624 Clan exogamy would necessarily prevent that. If the old exogamy of the two divisions was in force and a man was thus compelled to marry into his mother's division but not into her clan, every village would have had to be arranged in an extremely artificial manner, that was not likely to have occurred frequently. [591] That a man often lived with his parents-in-law, would in addition again disorganize the regularity of the scheme. Finally, we have the evidence of the myths, which often speak of a man as departing on a journey when seeking a bride. All these customs, cutting across the village scheme in a number of ways, must have rendered it a rather complex unit. That, in spite of all this, clan exogamy could have been maintained even in a small village is unquestionable, but the reason for this lay, we suspect, in the limitation of the concept of blood-relations. With these considerations in mind, we may, then, admit clan segregation.

Individual Names.

614 With the animal appellation of the clan, one naturally associates animal names of individuals, for there is, indeed, 551 a correlation between them. Animal names of individuals 182 are, however, frequently found when the social units have names of an entirely different kind. A similar lack of correlation exists between the manner and system of naming and the type of social organization. That, on the other hand, the social organization may fundamentally influence the nature of the individual name is also apparent. Only with these points in mind can the Winnebago individual names become intelligible.

614 The study of Winnebago names can be approached from a purely static point of view, and the attempt made to bring 551 them analytically under a certain system of naming; or, on the 174 other hand, from a dynamic historical view-point. We shall try to undertake both. Every clan has a distinct set of names.

The Winnebago individual names lend themselves easily to categories of classification. We have the following classes:

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I. According to colour. II. According to physiological characteristics. III. According to social functions. IV. Descriptive of animal and plant forms. V. Descriptive of animal characteristics. VI. Descriptive of natural phenomena. VII. According to quality. VIII. According to episodes of a legendary origin. IX. Descriptive of personal achievement.

According to practically all informants only one of these classifications is present in the minds of the Winnebago to-day—that commemorating incidents relating to the origin of each clan. Thus, for instance, because the first thunderbird lit on a tree, the name He-who-lights-on-a-tree exists; because a wave swept over the shore in the wolf myth, we have the name Wave; etc. However, the most representative names of this type are such as Gives-forth-fruit-as-he-walks, Makes-the-day-tremble, He-who-comes-singing, Judge-of-the-contest, etc. The vast majority of names, although many can be interpreted as possible episodes of the clan ancestors, belong under the first seven categories described above. Yet the Winnebago interpret them all in terms of category VIII. Can we accept this present interpretation as historically primary? We think not. A large number of the clan names are purely descriptive of animal habits, others express the influence of social organization, for instance "Soldier" in the Bear clan, "Chief" in the Thunderbird, and others refer to personal achievements, etc.; secondly, the interpretation is of too specific a nature to be regarded as one that could possibly have dictated an original system of naming; and, thirdly, in spite of its prevalence, other systems of interpretations are present. For example, the interpretations obtained by J. O. Dorsey are largely symbolical, and make no mention of the one we found so prevalent. A purely symbolical interpretation was, it is true, obtained in some cases, notably from what one might call the "exoteric" members of the tribe, that is, from those who were insufficiently acquainted with the clan myths and customs. Another type of name characteristically developed among the Omaha and Central Algonkins, is the so-called "dream-name," a name supposed to represent some incident connected with the dream of the individual bestowing it. In all these cases we are speaking of the specific names.

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If we include the nicknames, and then the birth names, we have five distinct systems of individual names. Remembering that every individual had three names, a birth name, clan name, and nickname, of co-ordinate importance, we must not exaggerate the importance of the clan name, especially in its social significance. An individual is known by his birth name or nickname, generally, however, by the former, which sufficed absolutely as a mark of identification under normal conditions. The clan name was rarely known by a member of another clan or even to all members of the clan. A marked religious symbolical flavour clung about it, and this was enhanced and elaborated by the shaman and principal members of the clan. The way was thus open for the development of specific interpretations such as the dream, symbolical, and notably the ancestor-episode type. The ancestor-episode type seems to have been the last. The uniformity it brought about in the interpretation of individual names was all the more easily accomplished in view of the fact that this esoteric interpretation was not disturbed by the influence of any popular system, since, as has been pointed out, the nature of the clan name prevented it from having any distinctively social-political value. Many such reinterpretations must have taken place in the history of the tribe, and we may thus obtain some idea of the insurmountable difficulties in the way of a proper understanding of names. Psychologically two processes are always active in these changes in name connotation: first, the reinterpretation of the old names according to some definite system of classification; and, secondly, the formation of new names on this basis. Interpreting a name, probably merely descriptive of the bear's manner of walking, like Retraces-her-footsteps, into an incident connected with the origin of the clan, and, on the other hand, giving a name like Scatters-flowers-as-he-walks, are two examples of the two processes, which must have occurred at every change. In the case here cited, reinterpretation in no way does injury to the name itself. It frequently happens, however, that the significance of a word is lost and that, in the process of reinterpretation, names are interpreted in a characteristic folk-etymological manner. *Tcoyanăc*, given above, is a case in point. In addition to the possible

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meaning of "blue-back," it has been interpreted as "first," from *iconi*. In the same way *degoni* has been interpreted as *re* "to go" and *honi*, "to hunt"; and *hotcangɛra* has been subjected to a multitude of interpretations. This folk-etymology not only overrides the grammatical peculiarities of Winnebago, but even makes faulty compounds conform to the Winnebago principles of grammar. Inquiry into the origin of the clan names will, for these various reasons, have to be regarded as one of the most unprofitable of investigations.

Attitude Toward Clan Animals.

We mentioned before that when the animal names became associated with the social groups, they were accompanied by the specific associations clustering around these animals. These associations were probably of the same type, if not indeed identical with those grouped around the animals as guardian spirits. The clan animals are among the principal guardian spirits to-day, and we must expect to find an explanation of the attitude toward them as clan animals in the attitude the Winnebago exhibit toward the guardian spirit. To a certain extent it would be quite correct to say that the guardian spirit became the clan animal. This does not, however, mean, in the slightest degree, that the guardian spirit of the individual became the clan animal, but merely that the concept of the guardian spirit became associated with a local group.

The guardian spirit is at the present time conceived as an immaterial being in control of an animal species. The attitude toward this spirit is a purely religious one, and exhibits a marked absence of taboo of any kind. It is an open question whether a vision must be attested by obtaining some part of the animal "embodiment" of the spirit, but there is no doubt that every vision is symbolized by a special gift from the "spirit." The guardian spirit complex may thus be said to consist of a special religious attitude plus symbol.

The attitude toward the clan animal is characteristically different in this respect, that more emphasis is laid upon identification with the animal itself, as contrasted with the "spirit."

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As far as could be determined, the clan animal is the thunderbird with his characteristics of lightning and thunder, of the bear who likes honey and raisins, etc. The animal is engraved as clan symbol and used as a property mark, and he is brought in intimate contact with the group by the postulation of descent. Naturally, descent is not from the "spirit" animal but from the animal. Nevertheless the clan animal has, at the same time, retained its place as a guardian spirit, and in a most suggestive way. The blessing of a clan animal is more easily obtained by a member of the clan than by an outsider. The clan animal is a sort of clan protector.

In this change of attitude two considerations seem pertinent: first, the possibility of the "spirit" nature of the guardian spirit being a product of the esoteric elaboration of the religious societies, and that its apparent absence in the clan animal represents an exoteric conception; and, secondly, that under the influence of the social functions of the clan, an originally strong religious conception of the clan animal gave place to an identification with the animal species itself. It might be objected that there is no inherent correlation between social organization and animal species as contrasted with spirit animals. It seems certain, however, that descent could only be reckoned from the animal, and as long as it is postulated it must be from the animal. With regard to the historical priority of the "spirit" conception, little can be definitely said except, first, that the systematization it has undergone suggests the influence of the esoteric societies, and secondly, that the visions obtained during fasting appear to speak of the guardian "spirit" as an animal. On general psychological considerations we are inclined to believe in the contrast of the material and spiritual conception of the animal as a real fact, although it would be hazardous to say whether one or the other lies at the basis of the attitude of the individual toward his clan animal.

Relationship to Clan Animals.

The question of descent from the animal brings us to the consideration of the whole intricate relationship of the individual to the clan animal, a subject that has played so prominent a

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part in discussions of totemism. There are two distinct sources for the determination of this relationship, data obtained in reply to direct questioning, and that contained in some miscellaneous myths and in the origin myths. Part of the oral data is merely a reflex of the origin myths, but part is not. The value of this "unwritten" material lies in the fact that it represents the popular, exoteric attitude, the attitude that, on the whole, is not the result of conscious rationalization, and also in the fact that this exoteric view may very likely have been the basis for the esoteric interpretation.

The most prevalent view of the relationship of the individual to his clan animal is that of descent from an animal, transformed at the origin of the human race into human beings. This view is expressed in some of the origin myths and reflects the general conversation with individuals. Direct descent from an animal was never postulated. The definition of the term "animal" is, however, very difficult. The Indians themselves seem to make a distinction between the animal of to-day and the animal of the heroic age. The main characteristic of the animal of the heroic age was his power of transformation into human form and vice versa. Although he has lost this to-day, he is nevertheless descended from this animal. The human beings are, however, descended from precisely the same "animals," so that it might be well to bear in mind that descent from the transformed animal does not mean descent from the animal of to-day. This view is more systematically expressed in some places. According to one miscellaneous myth, the existing human beings and animals were descended from the same being, who once possessed infinite powers of transformation now into human, now into animal shape. At one time, presumably the beginning of our present creation, these "beings" either consciously or unconsciously exhausted all their "transforming" power, and the form into which they changed themselves, human or animal, remained fixed for all time. The existing animals have never succeeded in regaining their power of transformation, and among human beings this power has only been vouchsafed to those few who have obtained it as a special gift from some spirit. Even then, however, it is ludicrously incomplete, as compared

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174 614 773 825 with the same powers of the primordial "beings." This conception of the animal-human archetype must not be regarded as at all flavouring of a philosophy, developed after contact with Europeans. The error that has always been committed in discussions as to the nature of descent from the animal lies in confusing our concept of animal species with the term "animal" as used by primitive people, and also in lack of discrimination between the possible connotations of that same term, as applied to animals of to-day and those animals which are brought into intimate contact with the clan ancestor.

There is no reason for regarding the specific descent from the totem as a transformation of this Winnebago idea of the origin of human and animal forms. The latter conception is entirely a religious one, whereas the former is merely an extension of the genealogical tendency prevalent in many types of social organization. Instead of being merely descended from an individual in a given social unit, the bond of membership within this unit has been strengthened by the postulation of blood relationship to the clan animal. Descent may thus be looked upon as one of the elements necessary for the stability of a political unit, and is far older than its specific extension to those clan animals. A very illuminating example of a case in point can be selected from the history of the war bundle in the Thunderbird clan. This bundle, like the others, was obtained as a gift from the thunderbird in his capacity as a guardian spirit. The Winter Feast has, however, been markedly influenced by the clan organization and as a result, we find descent from the thunderbird and night spirit, the two most important spirits in the ceremony, postulated of the original owner of the war bundle. The same tendency is exhibited in the numerous stories of the connexion of an individual of the heroic age with a village. Here the individual, generally a transformed guardian spirit or animal, comes to the aid of the people in their struggle against cannibals, defeats the latter, and marries into the village, becoming the ancestor of the subsequent village group.

At the same time no strong correlation apparently exists between a totemic organization and the extension of descent to include the clan animal, for this seems to be a peculiarity of

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individual cultures. Bonds other than descent from the animal are frequently found and must unquestionably be considered as older than the latter in a number of cases. On the Northwest Coast, among the Creek, Iroquois, and other tribes, descent from the totem is not found. Among the Winnebago themselves we find, in addition to the above, the idea that the Thunderbird clan takes its name from the fact that its members imitate the actions of that animal. Some versions of the origin myth give no reason at all for the name, while according to others an animal is killed and becomes reincarnated as a human being in a certain village, the group taking its name from this fact. The descent from the totem, however, where it has not been primary, owing to its being a reflex expression of the social organization, quite generally supplants the other interpretation.

The Clan Tie.

In intimate relation to the attitude toward the clan animal is the conception of the tie binding one member of the clan to another. In no case did an individual regard the bond between him and another member of the same clan as based upon descent from the same animal. Blood relationship was always given as the reason for exogamy, as is brought out by the word for clan (*hokit'aradjire*). This concept of blood relationship was extended to the mother's clan generation. As we have pointed out, there is no reason for assuming that blood relationship is the primary explanation. The number of explanations for exogamy existing between one clan and another, and that of the clans of one side as opposed to those of another, indicate clearly how readily interpretations of this phenomenon change. The Bear does not marry into the Wolf clan because they are friends (*hitcak'ire*), and does not marry into the Buffalo clan because it belongs to the same side, or no reason is assigned at all. Before the question of the clan tie can be thoroughly understood, the kind of blood relationship that is here meant must be more carefully defined. This is not a general but a very definite notion, and may be said not to extend beyond four generations, in fact, not beyond the direct knowledge of some living individual.

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582 This will be brought out more clearly by the following tables,
614 based on actual genealogies:
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(F) Thunderbird—
(F) Bear —Bear (M) 1
(F) Eagle —Eagle (M) 2
(F) Wolf —Wolf (M) 3
(M) Thunderbird—Thunderbird (M) 4
—Bear (F) 5

or:

(F) Thunderbird—
(M) Bear —Bear (M) 1
(M) Bear —Eagle (F) 2
—Thunderbird (F) 3

All these marriages are permitted. In the first case a man marries into his maternal grandmother's maternal grandfather's clan; and in the second a man marries into his paternal grandmother's clan. We will consequently have to consider blood relationship as extending only to four, sometimes three, generations, and have to regard the statement of blood-relationship as the tie binding the members of the clan together as purely fictitious and secondary. That, nevertheless, this fictitious tie called forth the same feeling as that of real relationship, there is abundant evidence to show, and that it was of considerable importance in the development of the Winnebago clan-complex is borne out by the fact that the clan was called "those-who-are-relatives-to-one-another."

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL COMPLEX.

Clan Functions.

174 The association of political functions with definite social
614 units is a common phenomenon for most cultures where a
182 tendency toward socialization exists. It is strictly comparable to the association of ceremonial and religious functions with ceremonial units. In this connexion, the difference between an association with a group unit and an association with an individual, is of fundamental importance. Is the former, for instance, merely an extension of the latter? This only individual

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history can demonstrate. Such a genetic relationship between the two depends probably as much upon the nature of the political function as upon anything else. The exact time when this socialization took place is also of great import here. Among the Winnebago, some individuals claim that the functions of the public crier were inherent in the Buffalo clan, while others insist that any person who had counted coup four times was eligible for the office. Now, in this case not only is it possible but it is extremely probable that public criership was originally connected with an individual, and that subsequently it became associated with the Buffalo clan, probably by reason of a certain relationship existing between this clan and the Chief clan. It must, of course, be remembered that a grouping had already taken place, because the requirement of having counted coup four times made a large number of warriors potentially public criers. (Here the grouping together was due to the successful performance of certain test-acts.) Its association with membership in the Buffalo clan represented on the one hand a restriction of the number of individuals, on the other hand the addition of another qualification. Historically, then, the qualification of membership in the clan supplanted the other qualifications, at least in the eyes of a large number of individuals. What has been said of the development of the functions of the Buffalo may also be generally applied to that of the Warrior or Hawk clan.

Political functions may, however, become connected with a group unit without the individual playing any rôle either in directing or in developing such an association. The functions of preserving peace and of acting as intermediary, that among the Winnebago are connected with the Thunderbird clan, and the police and disciplinary functions connected with the Bear clan, may represent such types of association. In the absence of historical data, no demonstration can be made. It will, however, be shown later that association of ceremonial-religious functions with a social unit has actually occurred. That the police and disciplinary functions of the Bear clan developed from those of individiuals, on the basis of requirements similar to those of the public crier, is quite improbable, and no indication of that exists. The functions of the Thunderbird clan likewise do not

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lend themselves readily to such an interpretation. But even should we accept the necessity for the priority of the one over the other types of association, we must still insist that psychologically the functions are in each case associated with a group unit and that we are not dealing with the relation of cause and effect but with a new association.

Four of the Winnebago clans have specific political functions, the details of which cannot be discussed here. The Thunderbird is the chief clan, and in addition to the fact that the chief of the tribe is selected from it, has important functions connected with the preservation of peace; the Warrior clan, that relating to war; the Bear clan, that relating to policing and discipline, both within the village and while on the hunt, etc.; and the Buffalo clan, that of public crier and intermediary between the chief and his people. The Wolf, Water-spirit, and the Elk clans seem also to have possessed minor political-social functions. Thus, the Wolf people were considered in the light of "minor" soldiers; the Water-spirit people as connected with the passage of streams, etc.; and the Elk as connected with the care of the fire-places while on the hunt and warpath. This accounts for seven of the twelve clans, and it thus seems as if the association of political functions with clans was a type that had found great favour among the Winnebago, and was perhaps being extended to every clan. Among the Dhegiha, associations of ceremonial functions with social units seem to have found corresponding favour, while among the Central Algonkin neither type occurred.

Marked political and ceremonial functions of the clan are the distinguishing characteristics of the Siouan organization and have given an entirely different picture to clan structure there.

The Reciprocal Relationship of the Clans.

We have seen that one of the bonds between the clans was the fact that they belonged to the same side. But there is a special bond between certain clans known as "friendship" relation (*hitcak'ɔ'ra*). This always subsists between two, although it

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614 dividual and clan *hitcak'ɔ'ro*, on the other. In the former there
572 is the bond of blood, real or fictitious, in the latter only that of
mutual service. On the other hand, while the *hidek'-hitcɔgɛ*
[604] relation, the individual *hitcak'ɔ'ro*, and the clan *hitcak'ɔ'ro* may
be all of different historical origin, they are psychologically the
same. The postulation even of a fictitious blood bond between
the different individual *hitcak'ɔ'ro* and the clan *hitcak'ɔ'ro* is not
unheard of. For the *hitcak'ɔ'ro*[1] relation of individuals this is
[597] always possible, for if one individual dies, his *hitcak'ɔ'ro* is generally
adopted to fill his place. On the other hand, the myths seem to
[582] indicate that no blood bone was regarded as existing between
them, for they generally married each other's sisters.

What historical relation the clan *hitcak'ɔ'ro* bears to the
[174] individual *hitcak'ɔ'ro* relation of individuals, it is impossible
to state, but the remarks made before are pertinent here, and
no genetic relationship need be postulated.

The "Servant" Relationship.

614 The *hitcak'ɔ'ro* relation is entirely one between equals,
irrespective of the inequality of one member of this grouping,
with regard to the other, in social standing. The Bear clan is,
for instance, incomparably greater than the Wolf, but this is
entirely forgotten here. In addition to this "friendship,"
there seems to exist a faintly developed "servant" relation.
The concept of servant is not that conveyed by the English
word. It means essentially that a certain clan performs a service
for another without that specific service being reciprocal.
Among the Winnebago such a relation exists between the Thunder-
bird and Buffalo, and the Thunderbird and Elk clans. This is
not to be confused with the general subordination of all the
other clans to the Thunderbird and Bear clans when these exercise
their specific governmental functions. This "servant" relation-
[203] ship between the Thunderbird and Buffalo clans is politically
[174] expressed by the fact that a member of the latter visits the
chief every morning to receive certain directions from him,
[621] which he then announces to the whole village. But this relation-
ship expresses itself in another more striking manner—the

[1] [i.e. - "friendship" relation - ANALYST]

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lodge of the Buffalo clan is on the *wangeregi* side of the village circle, although the Buffalo clan is one of the *mąnegi* clans. In explanation of this fact we might, on the one hand, assume that its relationship to the chief clan influenced its position in the village, or that it always was there. The latter seems rather improbable, in the face of the unanimity of agreement as to its inclusion among the *mąnegi* clans, and we may, therefore, provisionally accept the hypothesis of a shifting of position from one side to the other. As this might entail a possible readjustment of the Buffalo clan, as regards exogamy, we tried to obtain as many instances of Buffalo intermarriages as possible. No case of intermarriage with the *wangeregi* clans was found. However, as only eight cases were instanced, no safe inference can be drawn.

The "servant" relation of the Elk clan to the Thunderbird expresses itself in the fact that the former takes care of the fire-places of the latter while on the warpath, etc., and that the members are supposed to distribute the fire to the other clans. In the social customs this relationship is perhaps shown by a certain preference of the Elk to intermarry with the Thunderbird clan. This preference is not reciprocal. The word preference is used with the added significance of being consciously expressed, and differs from a tendency to intermarriage which may exist between the clans, but which is not present in their consciousness. Some Winnebago informants even went so far as to postulate a *hitcak'ɔ'ro* relation between the Elk and Thunderbird clan.

Among the Osage a marked development of the "servant" relationship is found.

Viewed from a broad point of view, the reciprocal social and religious services of one clan toward another in the *hitcak'ɔ'ro* and "servant" relations are similar in nature to the political functions of the clan, and they may be taken as another indication of the association of political, social, and religious functions with a strongly individualized social unit.

The Specific Possessions of the Clan.

Among the Omaha, a number of clans have in their possession certain objects, around which not merely the clan but also

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let us say, some individual who has killed a member of the tribe and who refuses to make atonement of any kind, is pursued, he defiantly sings his clan songs.

As a last element in the clan-complex may be mentioned the specific facial decorations existing in each clan.

We have now completed the discussion of clan organization. As we saw, it consisted of a large number of cultural elements of the most heterogeneous historical origin. So many indications are there, indeed, of interpretations, reinterpretations, and secondary associations that it is impossible to form any correct idea of what is historically primary, except the self-evident fact that the complex has grown around a strong social-political unit.

THE CLAN AS A SOCIO-CEREMONIAL COMPLEX.

Up to the present our attention has been directed entirely to the clan as a socio-political complex and only passing mention has been made of those religious or ceremonial associations that may also have clustered around it. Among the Omaha, as we have frequently pointed out, these latter associations were of paramount importance and probably dwarfed the development of the political functions. Among the Winnebago, on the whole, they were unimportant. This very fact makes the solitary instance in which a fairly marked development took place of all the greater value, quite apart from the fact that it happens to give, on the one hand, an exceptionally instructive illustration of the secondary association of a ceremonial function with a social unit, and, on the other, a similarly instructive illustration of the association of a function generally belonging to an individual shaman with a social unit. Such an association has taken place with the Bear clan, and, owing to its importance, we will quote the data in extenso. The ceremony is known as "soldiers' dance" (*manype waci*).

"When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village, the people go to the chief and say, 'Sickness has come upon us, O chief! See that your soldiers arise!' And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks

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associated with the treatment of disease and was the especial guardian spirit of the Indian doctors.

INFLUENCE OF THE CLAN UPON CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION.

Perhaps the most characteristic trait of Winnebago culture is the existence of two strong socialized units, that of the clan and that of the secret society. Historically both are old, and even if we are of the opinion that the clan is historically younger, the political unit upon which it is superimposed is probably an ultimate historical fact. From the earliest times one would have supposed reciprocal influences to have occurred repeatedly. The nature of these influences, insofar as they are not conditioned by chance, would depend on the respective centre of gravity in either unit. It is evident that for the clan the organization was of paramount importance, and that the addition of cultural associations probably tended to strengthen its stability from the point of view of organization. On the other hand, the absence of political or governmental functions in the religious societies, and the clustering of the most multitudinous religious and shamanistic ideas within them, rendered the emotional complex of the latter the centre from which influences would radiate. At the same time, the ceremonial unit of organization seems to have been so firmly fixed, that any influence of the clan unit of organization upon it does not seem likely. As a matter of fact, in the typical schematic, religious society, like the medicine dance, grizzly-bear dance, and night-spirit dance, no influence is perceptible. But these religious societies may be regarded as presenting no possible points of contact. Where, however, the bond of union is supernatural communication with a guardian spirit who subsequently became the clan animal, an obvious point of contact is given, and this brings to mind a very suggestive fact of Winnebago culture—there are, strictly speaking, no religious societies based on communication from a clan animal. There are, however, clan and clan-bundle (Winter) feasts which, in many respects are absolutely identical with the religious societies, and which furnish, it seems to us, an example

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of just those two kinds of influence that we wished to point out, one radiating from the clan, as a unit of organization, the other from the entire clan complex.

In the Winter feasts the unit of organization is the clan. Generally all the clans were represented in the person of the owner of each specific clan war-bundle. The order of invitation was traditionally fixed, but it seems that in a number of cases the "friend" clan always had the position of honour. The war-bundle owner was not, however, supposed to represent the clan at all, but the spirits to whom offerings were being made. In every case, although the participants were supposed to impersonate a fairly large number of animals, the main blessings contained in the bundle were from the thunderbird and night-spirit and the main offerings were made to them. Indeed, there seem to be two separate ceremonies involved, one to the thunderbird and the other to the night-spirits.

The question that arises with regard to the clan basis of these ceremonial organizations is whether we are to imagine that the ceremonial unit of organization was displaced by the clan unit, or that the ceremony is of comparatively recent origin, let us say at least long after the clan organization had been perfected, and that a number of things combined to determine the acceptance of the clan as a unit of organization, as opposed to the traditional ceremonial one. To the foregoing, we must also add the fact that the Winter feast seems to be related to similar ceremonies of the Central Algonkin, whose influence on the Winnebago must first be determined. If, then, we are not in a position at present to suggest the course of development, there can be no doubt that the content of the ceremony is strictly comparable to that of the religious societies, and that there are hints that the ceremonial unit of organization had begun to assert itself. If this could be definitely established, it would indicate that the clan basis of organization is historically primary.

The clan unit of organization is found in no other Winnebago ceremony, although the specific clan feasts show marked influences radiating from the clan complex. The clan feast is a typical ceremonial complex, both in type of organization

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174 575 614 796 and in content. The difference between it and a society like the night-spirit dance lies in the fact that although the five principal participants must have specific blessings (bundles), they must at the same time belong to the clan. To what extent a member of one clan who has obtained a bundle from some other clan-spirit can take part in the specific clan feast of the latter, it is difficult to determine, but in the buffalo feast, assuming that this is unquestionably the real Buffalo clan feast, and there seems to be little doubt of it, any person who has obtained a bundle from the buffalo can participate, although the leader must always belong to the Buffalo clan. This example may be taken as an indication of the historical origin of these feasts, namely, that they are really religious societies in which the influence of the clan has restricted the number of individuals who are ordinarily supposed to occupy the five places of honour. That this restrictive influence of the clan was caused by the identity of the clan animal with the guardian spirit, there can be little doubt.

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PHONETIC KEY.

a, as in German *Mann*.
e, as in French *été*.
ɛ, as in English *men*.
i, as in English *pique*.
ɪ, as in English *pin*.
o, as in English *note*.
ɔ, as in German *voll*.
u, as in English *food*.
ʊ, as in English *put*.
ə, obscure vowel like *a* of English *idea*.
ˌ denotes nasalization of vowel.
ŋ, *ng* of English *sing*.
ð, *th* pronounced with tip of tongue against upper teeth.
γ, voiced guttural spirant, *g* of North German *sagen*.
ʻ, denotes aspiration.
ː, denotes that preceding vowel is long.
ˈ, denotes main stress.

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554 ries into a family below her's in dignity. The pride originating in birth, is as deeply
562 seated in the hearts of those who are nobly descended, among the natives of the
582 Northwest, as it is among the petty princes of Germany.

625 It is customary for the chiefs to appoint two soldiers, in each village to keep order in it, and they faithfully do so (p. 100).

491 In each tribe, some one man acts as a divider, by order of the civil chiefs, and
624 by general consent. Whenever we made the men any presents, of pipes, paints, tobacco, or any thing else, the self same men, if Winnebagoes were the Indians receiving the presents, appeared, took charge of the property, and divided it in the most equitable manner, among all present at the time. They reserved nothing for themselves, generally, but held up their empty hands to show their disinterestedness.

[171] If the Sauks and Foxes received presents, two men, one for each tribe, acted as dividers, and the same individuals always performed the same duty (pp. 100–101).

554 . . . "The rolling Thunder," "the Yellow Thunder," "the Distant Thunder,"
551 &c., are individuals among the Winnebagoes, who possess great weight of char-
614 acter; and that tribe to which belong men, who stand high on their roll of fame, for their distinguished valor in War, for their consummate prudence, experience and wisdom in the national councils, is emphatically called, "the thunder tribe" (p. 124).

114 There are other items appurtenant to Winnebago ethnology in Atwater's work; some to that of the Sauks and Foxes; some to tribes of the upper Mississippi valley in general: there are some acute statements regarding the chronology of the populating of America.

171 A "turtle" gens does not occur in the lists of Morgan, Dorsey, and Radin,
174 and Radin specifically denies that there is such a Winnebago gens. He also states that almost all informants claimed that the Snake and Fish clans
614 (gentes) were recent to the tribe. However, as special names "go with"
[114] fixed gentes, by examining the lists of the signers of the treaties between the
[648] Winnebago and the United States, it becomes clear that a member of the Snake gens signed the treaty of August 19th, 1825 as well as the treaty of
[551] August 25th, 1828. And a Snake clan exists among the Ponca, Iowa, Oto-Missouri, Quapaw, as well as some non-Siouan tribes.[10] Also it may be observed that among the Osage and Quapaw we have a Fish clan (used rather loosely). So too "Turtle" as the name of a gens (sub-gens) among the Siouan tribes Omaha, Kansa, Quapaw, and Osage,[11] and elsewhere.
[551] And Carrymaunee (Karamanu, etc.), "Walking Turtle,"[12] signed more

[10] See the important theoretical discussion by Lowie in American Anthropologist, Vol. 36, 1934, pp. 327–28; cf. also Radin, the Winnebago Tribe, p. 182; Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe (Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology), pp. 38, 39.

[11] Among the Omaha and Osage "the turtle carriers or bearers" and "Turtle-carriers" respectively; "Carries-a-turtle-on-his-back" among the Kansa: observe that according to the above Carrymaunee "carried" a large painted tortoise on his back.

[12] The phonetic restoration is presumably Kĕramani; mani means "to walk," as can be seen from old vocabularies, etc., as well as the personal names given by Radin in his The Winnebago Tribe and the Winnebago text by Radin in the Siouan sketch in Handbook of Ameri-

3: Michelson E-4 (no date) 1935
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than one treaty with the United States. Similarly the lists of signers of the treaties of June 3rd, 1816, August 19th, 1825, etc., between the Winnebago and the United States indicate the existence of gentes not in the published lists, but which have analogues among other Siouan tribes. I feel certain that a study of the names of the signers of treaties between United States and such Siouan tribes as have distinctive clan-names (and similar non-Siouan tribes) would yield valuable results. And a study of the personal names of such tribes in older writers would also pay. In this connection I may say that from Atwater's book, using this technique, it can be readily determined that the Eagle and Elk gentes were in existence among the Winnebago in addition to those specifically mentioned by him. The treaties furnish a few others, e.g., Earth, Sky. In this connection I may say that it is clear from the names of the signers of the treaty of May 13th, 1816 that at least the following Sauk gentes were in existence: Sturgeon, Eagle, Thunder, Bear, Swan, Wolf, Fox, Partridge, Sea. It is not without interest to note that all these save Partridge and Fox are on Forsyth's list of 1827.[13] If we count Partridge as the equivalent of Grouse, all occur in Jones' list printed in the Handbook of American Indians in the article *Sauk*. Sturgeon, Swan, and Partridge are not in Skinner's list. Sturgeon, Eagle, Sea (= Great Water), Bear, Thunder, Partridge (= Pheasant), Wolf, and Fox occur in Galland's list. Wolf, Bear, Eagle, Sturgeon, Fox, Sea, and Thunder occur in Morgan's list. If we pool M. R. Harrington's two lists we find Thunder, Fox, Wolf, Bear, Swan, Sturgeon, Eagle on them. A knowledge of the names on the tribal rolls from the earliest times would doubtless shed much light on the subject.

It should be mentioned that Radin argues for a priority of village groups, but states that according to all informants each Winnebago village was inhabited by members of various clans, and that in no case did a village merely include members of the same clan. Observe the contradiction with Atwater's data.

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can Indian Languages (Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, 40, Pt. 1). There are equivalents in several Siouan languages. In the Siouan sketch Radin gives kec'û'ñgegā as a personal name, "the tortoise," and ke'c'û'ñgERa as "you, tortoise," and in note 38 of the Winnebago text we are told that ke'c'ûñk or kec'û'ñgē is a large species of turtles, and that kē also means "turtle." La Flesche gives ke (in my transcription) as the Osage for "turtle, tortoise, terrapin," but Dorsay gives k'e (in my transcription) for both Osage and Quapaw, but ke (in my transcription) for Omaha; k'eya, "tortoise," is given by Deloria for Dakota. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the formation of personal names in Winnebago to be positive whether ra is the pronoun "thou" (vocative; see notes 39 and 46 to Radin's Winnebago text) or whether kera may be an archaic correspondent to Dakota k'eya with the recognized shift of y to r.

[13] They are in his Fox list.

105 of shamanistic practices in the Rite, they could never quite exclude
575 them and the only answer they possessed was to condemn them and
771 show how they led to dishonor, death and destruction.
796 This interweaving of the concrete and the symbolic and mystical led to a double, at times even a triple, set of significances for every action and word and which, occasionally, reached incredible heights of complication, intricacy and subtlety.

105 Since no other ceremony resembles the Medicine Rite in the
174 respects just mentioned, we may well stop and ask ourselves what
796 could have led to its creation? What is the cultural meaning of this new mode of expression, this new type of reinterpretation of ancient beliefs and attitudes? Allowing for the natural creative impulses of our Winnebago poet-philosophers, it is not unreasonable to suspect that some particular circumstance or circumstances must have called them forth.

Ordinarily, any attempt to determine such a matter among the American Indians, in the absence of an authentic historic record, would mean mere speculation. Fortunately this does not hold true for the case in point. There are indications within the text of the Rite itself and some historical evidence which proves pretty conclusively that, in its present form, the Medicine Rite is a development late in Winnebago history and after the coming of the French in 1632. We can, in fact, date it more precisely. The otterskin pouch and the shell used in the shooting ceremony come from the *midewiwin* ceremony of the Ojibwa. The Winnebago obtained them from the Fox and this could not possibly have been before 1680-1690.

Now, the Winnebago between 1650-1900 were passing through a very serious crisis. Their numbers had been seriously decimated by ferocious struggles between them and the Illinois and Fox and by the diseases introduced by the Europeans. The influence of the French, as well as the new conditions resulting from French encroachment, were playing havoc with the old order of things. Nor must we underrate the influence of the French missionaries.

That a new type of ceremony should have appeared among the [182] Winnebago just then cannot be ascribed to mere chance. It must bear some relation to the crisis. The moment we put the two to-

gether much that would otherwise remain inexplicable about the Medicine Rite becomes clear—its nostalgia for the past, the idealistic and idyllic setting, the absence of any reference to war, the insistent condemnation of shamanistic practices. We can then see it for what it is, the attempt of the priest-poet-philosopher to meet the new and hitherto unknown threats to the old way of life by demonstrating, first, what merit and virtue inhered in the Winnebago civilization of the past and, secondly, by showing how it could be recovered and safeguarded against all outside attacks. The creators of this ritual-drama were concerned only with the description of the Road of Perfection, a road that was to lead the Winnebago back to the past and then forward again. Only if we fully realize that we are not dealing here simply with the inward vision of some poet-philosopher but with the spiritual crisis of a people will we be able to explain the burning intensity that animates the participants.

But, let us forget for the moment the fact that the Medicine Rite is of late appearance in Winnebago history and let us forget the crisis that gave it birth and try to assign it its proper place in Winnebago thought.

We saw before how the warrior ideal received its glorification in the warbundle ceremonies. Nothing comparable to such a eulogy of war and of the warrior's viewpoint existed for the other half of Winnebago life, for the arts of peace. Indications that it was attempted are innumerable but these attempts seem never to have succeeded to any marked degree.

And so the Winnebago, apparently, had to wait until late in their history, until a crisis of major proportions was threatening to disrupt their whole culture, before the ideal which had always been expressed in the symbol of the chief of the tribe could find its full and adequate expression in the present Medicine Rite. That this expression came so late in their history must not obscure the fact that it represents part of a very old struggle between two aspects of Winnebago life that had always been seeking a resolution. It is not only in Winnebago history that a philosophical-ethical ideal has received its highest expression in the midst of a social-economic crisis, as I need hardly point out.

105 Whether, before the coming of the Whites, other crises of equal
● 174 intensity had ever threatened the security of Winnebago life we do
182 not, of course, know. What we do know, however, is that before
796 Winnebago civilization finally broke up and disintegrated completely, about twenty years ago, a religion of a new type essayed the same task that the Medicine Rite had undertaken and developed a ritual of considerable beauty with a quality all its own. I am, of course, referring to the Peyote Cult.

6. THE HISTORY OF THE MEDICINE RITE

105 The Medicine Rite is clearly the product of a long development.
796 For proof of this we have not only direct historical evidence but
174 fairly convincing internal evidence. I have already called attention to the fact that the otterskin pouch, the shell and, in fact, much of the whole present shooting ritual stems originally from the *midewiwin* ceremony of the Ojibwa. We know that they are the originators of it and that it spread from them to the Pottawattomie, Menominee and Fox and then to the eastern Dakota and Iowa. The eastern Dakota already had it in 1765. The Winnebago were brought into contact with it by the Fox and the Iowa. We must assume that this could not possibly have been earlier than 1690 and, far more likely, it was later, anywhere between 1710 and 1730. To judge from its present form and content, nothing else was borrowed than the shooting ritual and its appurtenances, apart from a number of songs, at least, from the linguistically and culturally distinct Fox. More was probably borrowed from the linguistically and culturally closely related Iowa.

Two introductory narratives (pages 92 f. and 94 f.)[1] profess to tell how some of the pouches were obtained but they can hardly be accepted as too accurate. In so far as any credence can be placed on what they say, it would appear that they were presented to two Winnebago, whose names are given. No mention, however, is made by the givers of these gifts, one an Iowa and the other a Fox Indian, of their be-

[1] [not processed. -Anal/ysf]

longing to the *midewiwin*. Nor do the two Winnebago say anything about their having been incorporated into a ceremony of their own. Yet some connection there must once have been between these gifts and the beginnings of our Medicine Rite, for otherwise there would have been no conceivable reason for their inclusion. 105 196 174

Since everything else in the Medicine Rite of today, apart from the shooting ritual, is so completely different from the Ojibwa and Menominee *midewiwin*, the only two we know reasonably well, we must assume either that a new ceremony was created then and there with the shooting ritual as its nucleus or that the shooting ritual was incorporated into an older Winnebago ceremony. All the evidence at our disposal points to the latter alternative. We have also to assume that this older ceremony contained shamanistic practices of the type that were characteristic of the Night-spirits' Rite.

That it was not the Night-spirits' Rite itself upon which the Ojibwa shooting ritual was grafted, of that there can be little doubt. Fortunately, we have a clue from a very unexpected source, the Pawnee. These Indians have a ceremony called *The Ceremony of the Medicine Men*, where we find the following remarkable resemblances to the Medicine Rite: a shooting ritual which causes the individuals shot to fall prostrate to the ground as if dead and then rise again; the conception that the framework of the lodge consists of snakes; a figure called the sacred woman; the importance of Turtle; a membership possessing occult powers strictly guarded and kept secret from the outside world; a highly elaborate symbolism, etc. Chance must be ruled out here. The only thing we have to decide is how the Winnebago happen to possess a ceremony so similar to that of the distant Pawnee with whom they had practically no contact. Direct borrowing is out of the question. 105 171 174 196

To me there seems to be only one possible explanation, namely, that the Winnebago and the Pawnee, the Winnebago to a smaller extent, were members of that larger civilization which we mentioned before and which had its roots in Mexico, and of which the Pawnee have preserved the essential traits whereas the Winnebago have preserved only vague memories of it and some special survivals.

Assuming then that the older ceremony upon which the Ojibwa

shooting ritual, plus its appurtenances, the otterskin pouch and the shell, were grafted, was in content very much like the present Pawnee *Ceremony of the Medicine Men* and, organizationally, like the Night-spirits Society; let us see now what changes were necessary to have this older ceremony approximate to the present Medicine Rite.

First, of course, the meaning of the missile shot into the individual being initiated and into the members of the Rite had to be reinterpreted and its overt shamanistic implications removed. The stimulus for that unquestionably came from the Ojibwa shooting ritual. The linkage of the shooting ritual with the doctrine of reincarnation is, however, something entirely new.

The second transformation came about when the Tear-Pouring ritual was grafted upon this older rite. This last named ritual, apparently, was part of the very elaborate ceremonies connected with the dead although, today, it is not found in the official Four Nights' Wake. What is, however, found there is the myth of the *Journey to Spiritland* which has been taken over *in toto* into the Medicine Rite and subjected to a complete and fundamental reinterpretation. I feel that it is the linkage of these elements from the funeral rites with the older form of the Medicine Rite that brought about its basic transformation and gave us the Rite of today, with its stress on reincarnation and on the doctrine of the Road.

The third new trait requiring an explanation is the role of Earth-maker. He is a very old Winnebago deity and was evidently regarded as the supreme deity before the coming of the Europeans. He seems, in fact, to be the counterpart of the well-known Pawnee supreme deity *Tirawa*. Nevertheless, the influence of Christianity in, at least, unifying his characteristics and functions and accentuating his supremacy over the other deities, as well as the theory that he is the creator of all things, must not be excluded. The association of the two crossed lines with him cannot be accidental, even although the symbol itself is very old and is more specifically connected with the cardinal points.

There is, besides, some semihistorical evidence for indirect Christian influence. In a narrative purporting to be an account of the origin of a well-known French half-breed family among the Winne-

bago, named Decora, a statement is made that the son of the French founder of the family by the daughter of the tribal chief, introduced the figure of Earthmaker into the Medicine Rite. Such an individual would, indeed, have been the ideal person to have done just this. According to the narrative, he was taken, while still a very young child, to France and brought up there for a number of years. He was still only a boy when his excessive homesickness forced his father to send him back to Wisconsin and there he was rigorously subjected to the old Winnebago education for youths. 105 174 796

Thus he was almost made to order to symbolize the meeting of the two civilizations and to become one of individuals best qualified to understand the nature of the crisis threatening his people and the need for a new religious and philosophical synthesis to surmount it, at least, spiritually . . .

It is in some such fashion that we must visualize the growth and development of the Medicine Rite. Only if we bear in mind the various strands that have gone into its making and only, when we realize that in its final integrated form, it is a work of art sprung out of the poignant needs of a people facing a soul-trying ordeal, only then, can it be properly understood, evaluated and appreciated.

[pp. 78 ff. not processed]